1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IX.—COMMERCE.

I.—HOME TRADE.

438 THE artificial productions of Ladák are confined to the manufacture of blankets and coarse woollens, chiefly for home consumption, and of black mohair tents, made from the hair of the yák or grunting ox, which form the only habitations of the nomadic population. Both blanketing and sacking can be purchased in Lé, the former only in small quantities, the latter in almost any quantity, as there is a constant demand for it for bags for the conveyance of goods. The blanketing is manufactured in pieces one foot wide and eleven to fifteen yards in length. The price varies from two to three rupees each, according to fineness. The quantity of blanketing and of sacking annually expended in Ladák on the carrying trade amounts to about 120,000 yards, in the manufacture of which 20,000 small maunds (or 640,000 lb.) of wool are consumed. The total value of the manufacture is only Rs. 7,500 or £750.

II.—FOREIGN TRADE.

439 The foreign trade of the country, in home produce, is confined to four natural productions,—wool, borax,

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdár-ships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

6; Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

Chapter III, A. Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson:—

"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazirts*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irri-

GATED AND THEREFORE CULTIVATED IS NOW LYING WASTE. P. 94

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Proportion of the sexes.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Censûs.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Houses and furniture.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 438 up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804 of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492 Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438 were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221 grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492 salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439 form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

Ju Le, Ju Le

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*,[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
•438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
548 be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform rate is one rupee (twenty cents). [548]

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny village on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale. Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the old capital of Little Tibet. 458 438 185

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncomplicated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith. The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people, and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas. 157

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the children, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoyancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheepskin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips, gave her a rare beauty. 145 291

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

443 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did
438 not consider the merchants who meet here from the four
439 points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from
437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

565 241 651 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of by employing labourers.

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the 241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim, [438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

]: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A.J.4

high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an under-growth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhol in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good

231 231 [492] [438] 231 492 439 492